8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu as a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the 539 133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua 823 from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain- 186 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is 184 much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 261 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

868 dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-
[461] plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert
868 net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom
286 he visited in another village, a second man learned from a
463 chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai *kava*-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

871 The necessities of formal education in the three "R's"
872 which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room schoolhouse in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child. A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school
871 may continue their education at a government or mission
873 college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose
[464] parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here again however, college life does not represent any particular break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a formal educational system has been one of the most effective forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and the opposition had to be silenced.

I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception the exiles had really had, for rumours were most conflicting. From his account it appeared that while they had received no welcome from the people at large, this had been unnoticed in the presents that had been showered upon them by their immediate relations and friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a large disused building called the "Women's College," until such time as they could make arrangements for moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes. They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the house, saw a long train of men and women approaching with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter. Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji. It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs, rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in return gifts of an equal or higher value.

Our new house adjoined the Government College, being in reality the house of the English principal when such an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

source of amusement for the first few days. On week-days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathematics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur that would have greatly surprised their composers. During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing the homily in shorthand.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C.Q-4.5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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[879]

'Atenisi Institute (above), the only privately operated educational institution in Tonga, is run by 'I. Futa Helu in Nuku'alofa; it is basically a high school, with technical and university divisions as well. There is also in Tonga a branch of the University of the South Pacific, and the photo at right shows 'Anau Fanua in the U.S.P. library; classes at U.S.P. in Nuku'alofa include law, commerce, Tongan traditions, economics, mathematics and French. In addition, Tonga has a Teacher Training College (Nuku'alofa) and an Agricultural College ('Eua), and there are a certain number of scholarships available each year for study abroad.

Ko e 'apiako eni ko 'Atenisi (te 'i 'olunga) 'a ia 'oku fakalele 'e 'I. Futa Helu. Ko e 'apiako pe eni 'e taha 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku 'ikai fakalele 'e he pule'anga pe ko e taha 'o e ngaahi siasi. Ko e 'api ako'anga ma'olunga, pea 'i ai foki mo hono va'a ako faka'univesiti mo e ako fakatekinikale. 'Oku 'i Tonga foki mo e va'a 'o e 'Univesiti 'o e Pasifiki Sauta. Ko 'Anau Fanua eni (te 'i to'omata'u) 'i he loki laipeli 'o e 'apiako ko ia. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e 'Apiako Fakafaiako 'i Nuku'alofa, kae'uma'a e Kolisi Ngaue 'i 'Eua.

beyond that. Within a few days of my arrival in the Kingdom, I learned that a two-volume dissertation on the relationship between education and socio-economic development in Tonga had been completed just two years earlier (Kavaliku 1967). The author was the Honourable Langi Kavaliku, who was serving as Minister without Portfolio at the time I arrived in Tonga and appointed Minister of Education a few weeks later (the first Tongan commoner to serve in that position). Dr. Kavaliku was most gracious and encouraging in welcoming my research. Nevertheless, after reading his dissertation, I felt I would have to redefine my project if I was not to spend much of my time duplicating what he had done. I thought at that point that I might focus on young people's aspirations and collect data that could be compared with findings from other countries. 114 121

My original research design called for me to start with the educational system and trace how it related to other features of the society. Accordingly, I had proposed to locate myself at one of the secondary schools and work outwards through contacts made with students at the school. Since virtually all the major secondary schools in the country were located on the island of Tongatapu, most of them in and around Nuku'alofa, the capital town, it seemed clear to me that I should be based in Nuku'alofa. [873] [10]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

121 Nuku'alofa and commute, as do secondary-school children,
621 and there is to-and-froing to shops and visiting.
[872] (2) Motulahi forms a cluster with three other villages
. . . (total population: about 3,000). Among them
[873] they have one boys' secondary school, one intermediate
school, and four primary schools. Children from one
village attend the school run by a particular church
[794] in another. Attendance at church and church member-
ship also cuts across village affiliation.
(3) The villages constitute an interesting political
contrast, in that two of them are on government land
and two on noble's land, one of which is at present
headless because there is a vacant title with little
probability of an heir.

Possibly, this village will provide me with some-
thing of a cross section of Tongan society outside
[184] of Nuku'alofa. . . . At the same time, I am aware
that more remote villages (which are usually
considerably smaller and, by definition, would be
less technologically sophisticated and have less
interaction with the capital) may be organized very
differently. I cannot apprehend the significance of
that at this time, and will therefore not concern
myself with that problem until it becomes a real
question that I could try to answer.

621 In one respect, at least, Motulahi is particularly
unlike most other villages in that the population is very
162 much larger than that of most villages. According to the
621 census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1,122,
making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga
with a population of more than one thousand people. At
the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a
population under three hundred. However, the population
of all these small villages accounted for less than one
fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one
quarter of all the people living in villages. (Indeed,
the aggregate population of villages that had more than
seven hundred people was greater than that of all villages

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 land a-plenty to give out in Tongatapu, whereas the growth
622 of population was rapidly reducing the amount of land that
166 would be available in the future for new allotments in
161 Tungua. And, indeed, today there is a severe shortage of
162 land on Tungua, as there is on other islands in Ha'apai.
According to the census of 1966, the island of Tungua had a population of 444 with a land area of less than three-
161 quarters of a square mile. The following is a report on
162 the land-holding situation on Tungua in January 1970,
423 written by a social anthropologist who conducted fieldwork on Tungua in 1969-70:

> There are 90 bush allotments . . . on the island covering an area of some 240½ acres. They range in size from 1¼ to 8¼, only one being this last area . . . The average mean size is 2.6 acres . . . over one half are three acres or less. Preliminary figures on landholding reveal that there are 14 out of 57 (or 24.3%) households without registered land (that is, without legal title to land and therefore no security of tenure); in addition to the 14 heads of household without such title there are 33 sons over 18 in the same situation (Garth Rogers, personal communication).

621 In encouraging his people to move to Tongatapu, Sione
622 Fatu also pointed out that with increasing modernization
166 and especially the drive for education, Tongatapu would inevitably become the center for development and that people would be well-advised to move to the main island ahead of
[873] the waves of migration that were bound to occur. Sione
[658] Fatu's foresight regarding national trends is also reflected
[425] in the fact that in the mid-'forties he made available about

250 acres of his estate at Motulahi to provide a new site for Tonga College, the government boarding school of secondary education. He was recompensed with a 200-acre estate from government land at Vaikeli, originally part of a government estate immediately to the west of his own, while the people of Motulahi gained a major educational institution at their doorstep. (This has proved to be an additional advantage and source of attraction for residence at Motulahi.) Thus, among the 145 households in the village in 1970, we find 44 households headed by those who moved to Motulahi in the 'thirties and 'forties. It was explained to me that the families had come to Tongatapu so that the children could attend the better schools on the main island, and that they had settled at Motulahi because the noble had made it easy for them to do so.

The impact of Sione Fatu's encouraging settlement at Motulahi a generation ago (i.e., around 1940) is apparent when we distinguish among adults living in Motulahi in 1970 according to the criterion of whether they were raised in Motulahi or were already adult when they first came to live in the village. (In speaking of adults, my reference is to persons aged twenty and over.) Table 4 shows that over 70% of those who were no longer children when Sione Fatu's policies came into effect grew up somewhere other than Motulahi and were already adult when they first came to live in the village. In contrast to these people, more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 801

162 was under the age of twenty and over 90% were under the
621 age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census
[166] of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons
[871] in the 10-19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

The distinction between persons under or above the age of twenty is significant because in speaking of Tongan adults I refer to persons aged twenty and over. The official report on the national census speaks of adults as
[871] persons aged fifteen and over (Fiefia 1968). This is related to the fact that education is not compulsory beyond the age of fourteen. However, my view is that it is not productive to classify the fifteen-to-nineteen year-old age-category as adult. The reason for this is that there are certain important differences between 15-19 year-olds and 20-24 year-olds, that are apparent not only at the
162 national level but also in Motulahi (see Table 8). Those
621 in the younger age-category, generally, are still students,
877 even though schooling is not compulsory for them, whereas few persons over the age of nineteen are still in school.
[873] (Persons still in school after the age of nineteen are
[874] those who have stayed on in high school to prepare for

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

university-entrance exams, or are those attending the Tongan Teachers' Training College.) On the other hand, as Table 9 indicates, very few Tongans are married before the age of twenty, though most are married by the time they are thirty (women usually in their early twenties and men a few years later).

Age at marriage among the population of Motulahi parallels the national picture: all but two of those under age twenty were never married. (In what follows in later chapters, these two are classed as adults for purposes of enumeration.) However, beyond determining who has never been married--which is a matter of fairly reliable public knowledge--describing the marital status of the population is difficult for the ethnographer. One can easily tell whether a man and woman are living together, but one cannot as readily know whether or not they are legally married. On the other hand, if a married couple is living apart--which they may be doing for a number of reasons (see next chapter)--one cannot rely on the veracity of what one is told about the status of the marriage. A detailed analysis of marital status, therefore, cannot be given. In the course of investigating household organization, however, I learned that it may be crucial whether or not there is a co-resident 'spouse', regardless of the legal status of the union. Accordingly, Table 10 differentiates among the adults of Motulahi according to

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592 596 composition that are common in Tonga, and it therefore serves well for purposes of illustration.

The oldest person in the household was Finau, the mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see Figure 2). Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in [591] Motulahi. She married a man from another island and went to live there with him; her sons, Sione and Viliami, [768] were born there. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her widowed father's household. She never remarried and, after her father died, she became sole head of that house- [591] hold. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife into what was then Finau's household. His wife, 'Ana, [484] was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu [873] in 1930, when she was twelve, so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled at Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana had seven children, ranging in age from thirty-one to sixteen, all of whom were living in Motulahi in February 1970. Only one of their children, Tomasi, was not a member of the household at that time. [591] Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
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794 795 minational affiliation and that this was also regarded with equanimity merely seemed to me to be part of the same problem, constituting one more set of data exhibiting the apparent formlessness and flux of Tongan society.

As I understand it now, denominational changes occur in association with one of the following circumstances: through schooling, marriage, and what I speak of as 'personal retooling'.

Schooling

873 871 872 While education in Tonga is compulsory for everyone through age fourteen or completion of primary school, higher education has become an important element of social differentiation and there is tremendous competition for admission to secondary schools. (In 1969, for example, almost three thousand boys and girls took the entrance exam that would admit about seventy students to the first grade of post-primary education in the only government high school that prepares students for university entrance.)[8] Furthermore, 458 794 872 while the government provides two-thirds of the primary education in the country, about 85 percent of all secondary students are educated in schools that are provided by the various denominations.

873 794 795 In considering the provision of education as an element in inter-denominational competition for adherents,

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8 Report of the Tonga Department of Education (1970: 2).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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Motulahi

873 794 795 it is useful to distinguish between its role in recruiting new members and its role in retaining those who are already within the church.[9] The Mormon Church in particular recruits many of its new members through the provision of education. To a lesser extent this is also true of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Anglican Church. Among the other denominations, however, the provision of education serves nowadays more as a means of retaining those who are already members. Only the Mormons, Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are in a position to admit students who are not members of the church, thus attracting potential converts. The other denominations have insufficient secondary-school facilities to accomodate all those who are already members.

In speaking of switching denominational affiliation through schooling, I am referring to those cases in which people who have attended a school run by a church other than that of their parents' denomination grow up to become members of that denomination. While they are children they usually belong to their parents' denomination, irrespective of the school they attend. But once they enter the age at which one becomes a full adult member of the church (that is, during their senior secondary school years), many

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9 For some further discussion of this element of inter-denominational competition, see Decktor Korn 1977.

873 switch their affiliation to the denomination that is
794 providing them with their education. In view of this, and
795 given the possibility that young people may switch their affiliation to the denomination that is providing them with their education, it is interesting to note that parents permit their children to go to these schools. The fact that they do allow this is further evidence of the relative lack of significance attached to the existence of denominational differences among kin.

Marriage

582 Inter-denominational marriage reveals another aspect
794 of the way in which denominational differences among kin
795 are handled. Such differences are seldom a barrier to marriage in Tonga, and it is entirely possible that a husband and wife will have been members of different denominations before they were married. In fact, there were 38 such cases in Motulahi out of a total of 150 married couples living in the village in 1970 (25 percent).

As far as I could determine, there is no general opposition to the notion of marriage between people of different denominations; parents and close kin may be opposed to the marriage, but beyond this other people are seldom concerned about it. Anyway, except for expressing their disapproval, there is little that anyone can do about the matter, and the couple usually deals with the

794 denomination and switched together to another denomination,
795 in a few instances the husband converted first and the wife converted later, and in one case a man became a Mormon while his wife remained a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Each of these cases, in my view, falls under the heading of 'personal re-tooling', and three-quarters of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Moreover, in those cases where there was a change of denominational affiliation at marriage, while there are thirty instances of women switching to their husband's denomination, there are only six instances of a man moving over to his wife's denomination and five of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Given what is involved in being a church member, a man's switching to his wife's denomination at marriage might also be understood as a decision to re-tool.

For us to understand these data, I submit that switching to the Mormon Church be viewed as a stratagem for gaining access to resources and opportunities that are otherwise not available nowadays or available only with [464] considerable difficulty. For example, the Mormon Church is a major employer in Tonga, second only to the government for employment outside teaching, and generally employs [873] only Mormons. The Mormon Church is also a major source of scholarships for study abroad, and these are allocated only

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are trained in a wide range of academic and technical subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham [464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church, both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example, do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the material burdens and social obligations of congregational feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to [602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed, it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

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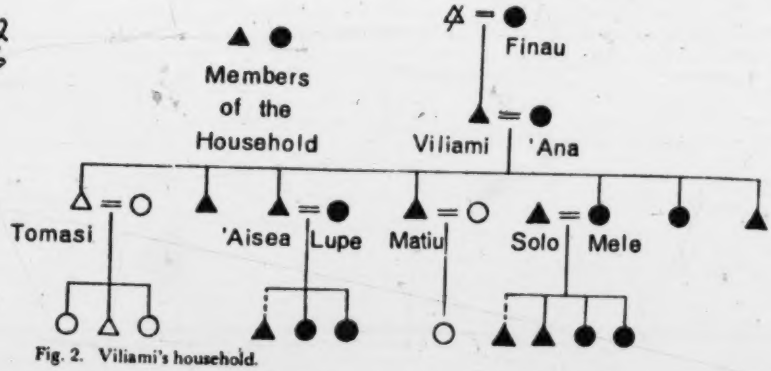

Fig. 2. Viliami's household.

remarried, and, after her father died, she became head of that household. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife 'Ana into what was then Finau's household. 'Ana was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu in 1930 when she was 12 so that her older brother could attend secondary school. They settled in Motulahi, where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana have seven children, ranging in age from 31 to 16, all of whom are living in Motulahi. (These data are based on the ethnographic records of February 1970, when I took the census of village households.) Only one of their children, Tomasi, is not a member of the household. Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in 1966, but then, in 1969, they went to live with Lupe's family in another village in Tongatapu. 'Aisea quarreled with Lupe's brothers, however, and the couple moved back to Motulahi to live with Viliami and 'Ana, together with their two children and Lupe's sister's son (adopted in the informal fostering relationship known as *pusi'aki*). At the time of the household census they had been back in the household for about one month, and it was indefinite how long they would be staying.

The third married couple in the household, Mele and her husband Solo, had been living for a few years in their own single-family-unit household in Motulahi, sharing the residential plot of her married brother Tomasi (the one who has his own household). About a week before the census, however, a heavy rainstorm flooded Mele and Solo out of their coconut-thatched house, as it did a number of other households in the village. The couple and their four children (including one *pusi'aki* adopted by Mele before she was married) moved in to her parents' household until a new house was built for them four weeks later.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

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873 874 of Tongan children are leaving school with no prospects of either secondary schooling or vocational training. State schools have no likelihood of introducing vocational training under the present budget allocations and places in secondary schools are few. In 1968, a total of 2,400 pupils sat the Tonga High School (Government) examination with only 55 places available.[17] Even in secondary schools there is little education for specific careers; the 1967 Report of the Department of Education estimated that only 8% of a secondary school pupils were receiving vocational training.

674 The Annual Report of the Police Department for 1967 shows that the number of reported crimes had increased by 21.0% over the previous year and that 52.0% of those convicted on criminal charges were between 625 the ages of nineteen and twenty-five. The proposed scheme to reinforce the police force and build a new jail and police headquarters will probably do little to alleviate this problem.

648 167 The United States Government has allocated an annual quota of one hundred immigrants to Tonga; this scheme is fully booked for the next three years. Small Tongan communities exist in Samoa, New Hebrides, Australia and New Zealand, but to New Zealand at least no regular emigration is permitted.

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17. Mr Peter L. Chignell, Director of Education in Tonga; personal communication.

more restrained than in the haka fakalongolongo section and is fit to the poetry phrases in the same ways as in lakalaka choreography.

The third section is a haka fakalongolongo, which is a similar but shortened version of the first.

I will give two examples of the structure of ma'ulu'ulu. The first is the ma'ulu'ulu of Queen Salote College (a secondary school) for girls. The ta'anga was composed by Queen Salote and the fasi and haka by Peni Tutuila who is the individual of greatest reknown for ma'ulu'ulu choreography. Often the ma'ulu'ulu is performed by all the girls of the school which number over 500. The following description is from a performance for Queen Salote in the Palace grounds on October 29, 1965. On this occasion all the girls of the school brought food to the palace as a going away gift to the Queen and then performed for her. In attendance were only the Queen and her ceremonial attendants (matāpule). The girls had practiced daily for several weeks in order to make their movements as perfect--'as one'--as possible. The dance lasted about half an hour and had the following structure (for text see Appendix B):

A [See category 116, p. 315--Analyst]

535 At the end of this performance, the Queen sent a message by her
644 matāpule to ask them to do it over again "because it warmed her heart."

The second performance lasted about 15 minutes and had the following structure:

Section I. Haka fakalongolongo

Section II. Haka hiva

Stanza A	Verse 1	(fakalulusiva)	
A		(haka and singing)	
C	Verse 2		
B	Tau		
D	Verse 3		
D			
E	Verse 4		
B	Tau		

Section III. Haka fakalongolongo (shortened version)

535 The second example is the ma'ulu'ulu of Pilolevu College for
541 girls--the Ha'apai counterpart of Queen Salote College which is in
[873] Tongatapu. The ta'anga, fasi, and haka were composed by teachers of Pilolevu College, some of whom had been students at Queen Salote College, and were familiar with the ma'ulu'ulu there. This example was composed for the 1962 katoanga celebrating 100 years of freedom and has been performed on later occasions. I did not see a formal performance, but four girls did the dance for me, and described the performance. The structure is as follows (for text see Appendix B):

A [See category 116, p. 316--Analyst]

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga Vava'u Pangai OU9

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and more competent hands.[5]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men. Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[6] Dreams of approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams, generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness and sterility in women.

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend" appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

[5] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[6] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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Moulton ran into some difficulty when he tried to introduce formal music training in his college. He thought that the best way to teach music to the Tongans was to use tonic solfa. However, he soon found to his embarrassment that some of the common combinations of notes of the tonic solfa were obscene in Tongan. He then ingeniously devised a special notation, using numbers (Moulton 1921:54):

to	lu	fa	ma	ni	o	no	tu	fi	va	a	hi	to
3	3♭	4	4♭	5	6	6♭	7	7♭	8	8♭	9	3̇

The Tongans are very proud of this notation and it has really enhanced their interest in and enthusiasm for music. Hymns and classical masterpieces were transcribed into the new notation and sung by several hundred voices in each choir. The College itself, naturally, took the lead and its students spread its use to the villages throughout the country.

Charles Tucker and his wife introduced some improvement in teaching methods in Ha'apai as early as 1835 by grading students according to their progress. Matthew Wilson followed this up at Hihifo in Tongatapu in the early forties and found the method very popular among his students. Further attraction was also created by the introduction of the Glasgow method by Amos towards the end of the forties, proving the missionaries right in the belief that the method would suit the Tongans.

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. Annual school feasts for the examination of the infant schools were organised at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and prizes were awarded for outstanding achievements. These school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and became delightful annual events for the whole community.

In Tongatapu, school examination also became a big attraction. King George himself, the Queen and some of the chiefs became patrons of various schools. In his visit to Tonga in 1850 Lawry

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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873 was very impressed by a school from the small village of Tofoa, conducted by a young woman who was trained by Amos. Young, in 1853, spoke glowingly of the results of school examinations at Nuku'alofa and in particular the school for young women of which the wife of the Chief Justice was both patron and teacher.

797 The Methodists in England belonged to that section of the
527 English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views, and in Tonga the sacredness of the Sabbath was an integral part of the missionaries' teaching. Tongan converts accepted this aspect of the missionaries' teaching with all seriousness. They regarded it in the same spirit as they observed the traditional taboos. Referring to this reverence for the Sabbath in Tonga, Young (1854:268) wrote:

> Never had I previously observed such respect paid to the Sabbath of the Lord. The day appears to be exclusively devoted to religious services, and nothing meets the eye or ear infringing upon the sanctity of that blessed day, but everywhere incense and a pure offering seem to be presented to the Lord of Hosts. If the people are beheld coming from their habitations, it is that they may go up to the house of the Lord, and inquire in his holy temple. If a canoe is seen in the offing, it is conveying a Local Preacher to his appointment in some distant island, that he may preach unto the people Jesus. If noises occasionally fall upon the ear, they are not those of revelry and strife, but of holy praise and fervent prayer going up to heaven.

[642] Observing the sacredness of the Sabbath later became a part of the constitution of Tonga.

797 Consistent with their puritanical attitudes to work, the mission-
461 aries seriously promoted industrious habits and commerce. People were encouraged to cultivate their land, build better dwelling
797 places, and produce coconut oil for sale. Contribution to the mission was introduced and encouraged, as being part and parcel
431 of the kind of life expected of converts to Christianity.

The many and diverse attractions of the mission activities led,
797 among other things, to a redistribution of population in Tonga.
166 Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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This outlook, which discouraged vision and imagination and bred intolerance, was due in part to the policies of the mission, in its particular emphasis on the life to come rather than the here and now, and the prohibition of its members to meddle in politics.[2] It was partly due also to the calibre of the men who carried out the work of the mission. Most of them appeared to be of average intelligence but without proper training and the result was that their energy and drive were not matched by their vision or imagination. For them, the mission was an end in itself rather than a means to an end, and they considered that everything should revolve around it. Their maxim seemed to be 'Tonga for the mission' rather than 'the mission for Tonga'. Hence they objected to 'excessive' spending of money by individuals or groups on anything but the mission collection.

There were, of course, a few exceptions. The Reverend Egan Moulton was one of these. He came from a scholarly family, and although he had not received any university training, he was well educated and intelligent. He held a broader and more liberal view of the work of the mission. When he founded Tupou College in 1866, he decided that the college should become an institution upon which 'Church and State, in their many divergent channels of departmental usefulness, were to centre their hopes and expectations . . .' He planned that 'from it the Church would draw its supply of ministers, stewards, officials, and teachers . . . While from it also the Government could seek its clerks, magistrates, and other officials' (J. E. Moulton 1921:47). He permitted students nominated by the government to enter the college.

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[2] Part of the instructions given by the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to the Rev. Samuel Leigh and other missionaries in 1821 read:

> Should you acquire influence and consideration with the natives of the places of your destination, as we trust by the blessing of God you will, you may be placed in circumstances of some difficulty arising from the quarrels and different views of the various chiefs. Your plain line of duty is to take no part in their civil affairs, and to make it understood that interference in these matters is no part of your object, and that you are sent to do good to all men. This, however, will not prevent you giving them such advice as may be beneficial to all parties when it is desired. (Loose printed enclosure in Thomas, Draft letter book)

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Moulton's fresh approach and wider and more liberal outlook met with severe opposition from his colleagues. Most of his opponents objected simply on the grounds that Moulton had indulged himself in an expensive project which would be of little benefit to the mission. Some of them argued that the sole purpose of the college should be to train young men for the work of the mission, and the Training Institution, conducted by Amos in the fifties, was cited as the model to be followed (Greenwood to Rabone, 10 Aug. 1872, WMMSA 1852-79).

King George's greatest ambition was to preserve the independence of Tonga, and he realised that one way of achieving this was to gain international recognition of his government. Accordingly there was a need to establish an efficient system of government which would be acceptable to the civilised countries of the world. The mission, although quite effective at the local level, was not equal to assisting in these ambtitions towards international politics.

In his description of the functions of a legislative council in a letter written to King George, St Julian wrote:

> Such fundamental principles should be laid down as would form what is termed a constitution and all subsequent Legislation should be in strict accordance with these principles. In the first instance not much Legislation would be needed. But little probably beyond the Code of Laws which Your Majesty has already promulgated . . . But with the rise of the Kingdom will arise an absolute need of Legislation upon many points with which it is now unnecessary to deal. (St Julian to Tupou, 26 June 1855)

The question of acquiring a written constitution for Tonga had been occupying the King's mind for some time. A number of significant events had made him realise, more than ever before, the urgency of the need for Tonga to become recognised by the main powers. First there had been Consul Pritchard's serious attempts to get Britain to annex Fiji in the late fifties; then the increasing involvement of the powers in Samoa and elsewhere in the Pacific in the seventies; and finally the actual annexation of Fiji by Britain in 1874. King George fully appreciated the value of having a constitution as the basis of the laws of the country,

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974.
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It would be difficult to question the sincerity of Baker's motives for criticising the work of the mission, or the genuineness of his deep affection for Tonga; but when his remarks are viewed in relation to the later course of his career, one wonders whether these seemingly innocent remarks were not also part of a clever design to further his own ambitions. His remarks implied that the failure of the other missionaries to get on with the chiefs disqualified them for the task in hand, while he himself, with a more up to date approach, had gained the confidence and deep affection of the King and his people. When the Reverend George Lee returned to Australia in 1868 and the chairmanship in Tonga fell vacant Baker was back in the following year as the new Chairman of the District in spite of the fact that Stephinson had been in the District for about twelve years continuously.

Baker's obsessive desire to make a name for himself and to achieve power inevitably coloured his later activities. It was probably at the root of the somewhat doubtful stories which he told of his own origin and educational achievements.[5] It certainly made him fanatically intolerant of any rival to his fame, or any opposition to his power and authority. It also made him bitterly resentful if his work received no praise or recognition from the mission authorities in Sydney. In their report to the Committee, the members of a deputation which was sent to Tonga with Baker in 1869, praised Moulton's work in the College very highly.[6] This was far too much for Baker to take. He saw Moulton and his

[5] Baker claimed that he was the son of an Anglican clergyman who was the headmaster of the Oxford Home Grammar School, London, and that he was educated 'for the ministry, but had a greater desire to become a lawyer, and pending his decision he went out to Australia to visit his uncle Parker, who was Crown Protector of the Aboriginals'. This is the version told by his daughters (L. and B. Baker 1951:5), and part of it is told by Roberts (1924:12). However, neither of these claims has been satisfactorily proved. Rutherford, after an exhaustive search, could find no trace of Baker's alleged father in any records nor was the existence of the school substantiated (Rutherford 1971:2). Even the relationship between Baker and his alleged uncle Parker is in doubt, and no one seems to have any knowledge of the origins of his doctorates.

[6] The deputation's report claimed that Tupou College was 'a positive wonder', and Moulton 'a cyclopedia of accomplishment' (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, July and October 1869:148).

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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work as a threat to his own prestige and honour. So he decided to do all he could to crush both Moulton and the College. He started a campaign against the College, which eventually developed into a bitter dispute.

Baker charged Moulton with creating a false impression to the world, of things taught and accomplished in the College. He alleged that the College was a nuisance and hindrance to the work of the mission, and was only causing unpleasantness. However, the Committee gave their support to Moulton, and Baker, resentful and disappointed, wrote to the General Secretary in Sydney:

> I feel tempted to resign . . . You say you hope that God in his mercy will defend the College and make it a great blessing—I can only say Amen. I have done more for the College than any other man . . . yet the Committee and the Conference are not satisfied. (Baker to Rabone, 5 July 1872, Baker 1860-79)

In an attempt to win the favour of the Committee, Baker turned all his energies and gifts to the task of fund-raising, knowing full well that the Committee was badly in need of money. He certainly had a flair for collecting funds. At his first missionary meeting in December 1869, the contributions came to £5,480,—£4,558 in cash and £922 in oil—and this amount was nearly £3,000 in excess of local expenses and was equal to the combined contributions of all the Methodists in Australia. Baker duly received the praise he had worked for when the January 1870 issue of *Missionary Notices* gave the full details of this 'noble sum . . . contributed in one year by this earnest and devoted Christian Community'. However, Baker did not enjoy this praise for long, for the dubious and ruthless methods he employed in raising funds antagonised the traders, who were in friendly relationship with the other missionaries, brought unfavourable comment from contemporaries, such as the Earl of Pembroke and Dr Kingsley, on the work of the Committee, and also provoked severe criticisms from his own colleagues. 'The Earl and Doctor' (Pembroke 1872:251) described the missionaries in Tonga as 'canting sharks'. Moulton wrote (to Rabone, 10 Sep. 1872, Moulton 1855-79), 'It's a great mercy the Earl and the Doctor did not come to Tonga or they would have made statements more astounding than they did', and George Minns wrote:

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Baker then ceased to talk about leaving Tonga any more. 'As regards my asking to return', he wrote to Chapman, 'I know I shall never be happier than in the mission work . . . by God's will I remain at my post until it appears it is His will for me to go . . . so I will work on' (Baker to Chapman, 4 June 1874, WMMSA 1852-79). He then started to advocate that the mission could do quite well with fewer missionaries. 'With three men', he argued, 'Like Brother Watkin and a schoolmaster (layman) for the College, I would undertake to work the whole of the Friendly Islands District for ten years to come—we have too much European Ministerial help' (Baker to Chapman, 16 July 1874, Baker 1860-79). This was an obvious way of getting rid of his opponents.

Less than a year after he had become chairman of the mission, in 1870, Baker had to face charges of immoral behaviour brought against him by his colleagues. He managed to absolve himself from the charges, but it was clear that opposition from his own colleagues was steadily growing stronger. In 1871 the bitter dispute over the College had at length come to a head and the Committee had come down in support of Moulton, much to Baker's disgust. In 1872 his colleagues were more vocal in their criticism of his missionary meetings, and the statement in *South Sea Bubbles* brought upon him a sharp reprimand from the Committee.

Frustrated by the mounting opposition of his colleagues, hurt by the apparent lack of praise for, and appreciation of, his 'success' from the Committee, Baker turned to King George and his chiefs, not only for support, but for public recognition, by championing their aspirations and ambitions. Baker knew that King George's two great ambitions were to maintain Tonga's political independence and eventually to make the mission in Tonga an independent church.

Towards the end of 1872 Baker left Tonga to attend the Conference in Sydney in January 1873. He took with him a letter from King George asking the Conference to make the Mission District in Tonga an independent church. The other missionaries reacted against this move. Minns, for instance, wrote:

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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which had actually been a council of chiefs. The *fakataha* were held at irregular intervals, depending upon whether the King wished them to be held, and the chiefs acted in a purely advisory capacity. There were several quite revolutionary features in the new Legislative Assembly. For instance, it included an equal number of chiefs and representatives of the people and, for the first time, commoners joined the chiefs in discussing political matters. This was a remarkable innovation in a land where commoners had been regarded as mere tools and possessions of the chiefs.

The teachings of the missionaries on the equality of all men before God had significantly raised the social status of commoners, and their participation in church organisations together with the chiefs had helped to prepare the ground for their greater social and political acceptance. This was further assisted by the founding of Tupou College in 1866, where Moulton implemented a policy of treating all students alike, be they chiefs or commoners. The only hierarchy recognised within the College was a hierarchy of intellectual achievement. Since significant numbers of commoners passed through the College, a mutual respect began to develop between them and the chiefly class, and this made it less difficult for the nobles to accept the constitutional provisions for commoner representation in the Assembly. Only those chiefs who had failed to gain a place for themselves in the Assembly showed any resentment.

It is paradoxical that the very constitution which set out to limit the powers of the monarchy should have created a new landed aristocracy with increased powers. This would appear to be the very reverse of what both the missionaries and King George had been trying to achieve with the earlier legislation, which aimed at limiting the power of the chiefs and raising the status of commoners. In the new constitution a certain number of chiefs were now to be chosen by the King and made the nobles of Tonga;[3] they were to be given tracts of land to be their *tofi'a* or hereditary estates.

[3] In the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 upon which this was modelled, the King appointed thirty nobles for life (Chambers 1896:19).

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 0U9 Tonga 0U9

EDUCATION. Primary education is free and compulsory to the age of 14 years, and the number of illiterate Tongans is very small. There are 73 Government Primary Schools with an enrolment of 3,016, and 40 Primary Schools controlled by the various Missions with an enrolment of 2,958. Provision is made for the secondary education of boys by the Government and the Free Wesleyan Church and Roman Catholic Church, and for that of girls by these two Missions only. In recent years arrangements have been made by the Government for the training of medical students at the Central Medical School, Fiji, and also for higher education on scholarships in Australia.

RELIGION. Government statistics (1931) show the following :— *Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga 16,711 ; Free Church of Tonga 4,679 ;* Church of Tonga 2,771 ; Roman Catholic Church 3,340 ; Church of England 311 ; Latter Day Saints 728 ; Seventh Day Adventists 232.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TONGA, LAW COURTS, ETC.

As defined by the Constitution of 1875, Tonga is a limited monarchy following the English system, and the government consists of (1) The Sovereign and the Privy Council, (2) The Cabinet, (3) The Parliament (Legislative Assembly).

THE PRIVY COUNCIL advises the Sovereign on affairs of State and makes ordinances in the interval between Parliaments ; these ordinances become laws if the following Parliament confirms them. Another very important duty of the Privy Council is that of preparing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the following year. Using the information supplied by the various Departments, the Privy Council calculates how much money it expects to receive from taxation, etc., and how much money may be spent in each Department in the following year. Having drawn up these Estimates, the Privy Council sends them to the Consul who has the right of veto over the expenditure of the Tonga Government, and, finally, they are sent to Parliament for approval. At present the members of the Privy Council are :—The Sovereign (President), the Speaker of Parliament (Vice-President), the Premier, the Minister of Lands, the Minister of Police, the Governors of Vava'u and Ha'abai, and two European members, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer. Members of the Privy Council are appointed by the Sovereign.

THE CABINET consists of the members of the Privy Council, except the Sovereign and the Speaker of Parliament. The Premier is the chairman of the Cabinet, which is really a committee of the Parliament to control the property of the Government, to make appointments to the Public Service, and to transact such matters as deciding the terms on which leases of land may be granted.

PARLIAMENT meets each year about the end of June, its session lasting about one month. Its members are :—The Speaker and members of the Cabinet, seven nobles elected by the 33 nobles of the Kingdom, and seven representatives elected by male taxpayers 21 years and over. Three of these representatives are elected by Togatabu and the two Niuas, two by Ha'abai, and two by Vava'u, and the seven nobles represent the nobles of those districts in the same proportion. Each section of the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

and he "succumbed to the corrupting influence of power". The L.M.S. historian, Norman Goodall, added — 797

> "He provides a pathological exception — with, perhaps, a warning — to the general run of missionaries".(5)

The early Wesleyan missionaries did not regard piety and learning as opposed to each other. Their diaries, regularly kept according to instructions from headquarters, reveal more than their self-examination and spiritual trials. They give evidence of the missionaries' self-discipline and the extent of their reading and continued studies, some in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They maintained these studies in an enervating climate and under conditions which often were most depressing.

The civilizing benefits of Christianity and the introduction of useful occupations to their converts were stressed to a greater extent by the L.M.S. missionaries than the Wesleyans. Nevertheless, the "work-ethic" was always upheld. The indolent habits of the people were condemned, excessively, we may say today.

Education was not regarded primarily as part of the civilizing process but as an agent in evangelism. It was necessary for converts to be able to read the Bible. Only much later did any doubts arise about whether the Missions should devote so much of their energies to academic education. The early missionaries believed that education developed powers of moral discrimination; they said they were training a people in whom conscience seemed lacking. Even in the 20th Century the Missions have generally advocated keeping education in their hands as a weapon for combating secularism and a means of developing the type of character expected of practising Christians.

Through mission education, Tongans, Fijians and Samoans became literate when there was still much illiteracy in Victorian England; secondary education, even to a very limited extent, was being given when comparatively few adolescents in England were receiving it; and girls were gaining a good education under mission auspices when there were not many girls' schools in England.(6) Furthermore, vocational and agricultural training was gradually introduced to enable the islanders to build and preserve their society under new conditions of contact with the outside world. [212] [873] [171] [874]

Education tended to become competitive, especially with the coming of new missionary societies which set up their own schools. The cost of maintaining a complete educational system for a whole community became too burdensome for any mission; and, therefore, governments assumed more responsibility for education. Government grants-in-aid or subsidies helped to make mission schools viable but, in the more sophisticated countries, these subsidies were reduced. Where there was a large non-Christian element, notably in Fiji with its Indian community, the government share in education was correspondingly increased. On the other hand, the policy of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga was exceptional: that Church maintained a complete educational system, and (to the present time) has done this without any government subsidy whatever. [871] [658]

Medical work was only a minor part of the early Pacific Islands missionaries' ministrations, but it was an expression of Chrisitan compassion. "The Christian ethic of healing" stood out in contrast to many callous practices in a non-Christian society. It is true that recovery from sickness after the missionaries' prayers and

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[1856 - 1865]

Even if the king's attitude towards the missionaries was not the same as in earlier years, he was, generally speaking, on friendly terms with them and showed them much kindness. His personal exertions in rescuing Mrs. Amos and family from their mission-house in Vava'u, when it was demolished in the hurricane of 10 December 1856, was only one clear example.[38] He was also actively engaged in preaching, except during the period of the *tukuofo* incident. When Thomas Adams reported to Eggleston a spiritual movement in Vava'u in which more than a hundred were converted, these included some members of the king's family, and Adams especially mentioned the earnestness of Tupou's preaching.[39] The king frequently acknowledged his country's indebtedness to the Wesleyan Mission, for religious, educational, and social benefits. A signal mark of his gratitude was the building of a new chapel on Zion Hill, Nuku'alofa. Not only did he advocate and promote this and express his will that it should be opened free of debt, but he gave $2.000 as a personal donation and he was present daily directing the work of building. The chapel was opened in July 1865.

Nevertheless, there were more clouds on the horizon. Shirley Baker reported to Eggleston (21 April 1863):

> "The king has shown that he is determined to be king. He does not seem to have the same confidence in us as he had: he sees we are not exactly one!" (40)

This was an understatement indeed; and it came from Baker, who was prominent in the Mission quarrels and scandals of the next twenty years. The lack of unity in the staff became the undoing of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga, and it sprang especially from the rivalry of Baker and Moulton.

* * * *

James Egan Moulton was one of a line of preachers that went back to John Wesley's days. He was born in 1841 at North Shields, Northumberland, and brought up in a Wesleyan parsonage. He and his three brothers were all singularly gifted. The eldest was William Fiddian, headmaster of the Leys School, Cambridge, and a member of the New Testament Revision Committee, Westminster Abbey, 1870-80. The others were John Fletcher, who became a Lord Justice of Appeal, and Richard Green, Professor of English Literature, Chicago University. J. E. Moulton himself was a sound scholar in Hebrew and Greek, and was regarded by his brothers as even more talented than they. He offered for foreign missionary work in China; this was changed to Fiji, and he studied the Fijian language on the voyage from England. From June 1863 until May 1865 he was detained in Sydney as Acting Headmaster of Newington College, the newly-established Wesleyan boys' school. He was married in Sydney on 23 December 1864 to a niece of John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary.

George Tupou had ardently supported the work of Richard Amos and others in education; the schools had grown to 161, with 654 teachers and 6,164 pupils (in 1858). The king wanted education of a higher standard. When he heard of Moulton, he requested the Church authorities in Sydney to send him to Tonga instead of Fiji. Moulton arrived in Nuku'alofa on 30 May 1865. With intervals towards the end of his life he served Tonga for forty years. Moulton met the king's ambition for an advanced institution, and his genius attracted young men and, later, young women, who were introduced to knowledge of the outside world, past and present. His creation of an intellectual elite was not so fortunate in some of its effects.

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[1865-1869]

So much attention afterwards was given to Moulton as an educator that his outstanding ability as a biblical scholar and translator tended to be overlooked. He was masterly in scriptural exegesis according to the best scholarship of his day. He quickly became an expert in the Tongan language and eventually re-translated the whole Bible from the original tongues, giving a classical Tongan rendering. His brother, Professor R. G. Moulton, considered that he did for Tongan what Dante did for Mediaeval Italian, "preparing the raw Italian to be a vehicle of the poetry that was coming".[41] His only fault as translator came from being pedantic, choosing some words and phrases that even then were passing out of use. Perhaps an even greater bequest to the Tongan people were his inspiring hymns. These were distinguished by their literary beauty, their deeply spiritual content, and their faithfulness to Tongan thought and imagery. E. E. Crosby, a young colleague well acquainted with the language, said of Moulton's hymns, "In his hymns his translations surpassed the original as John Wesley's translations from the German are said to do". These hymns showed a startling superiority to the feeble and repetitive hymns of the early missionaries.

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Moulton was an accomplished musician. Some of his hymns were set to the popular Sankey tunes of the day, but many of the tunes were of stately quality. Also, Moulton taught his College choir anthems from Handel and other great composers. He had to manufacture a special tonic sol-fa to do this, substituting numerals for the sounds "do-re-mi" &c. which, he quickly found, included vulgarities in Tongan.

In 1899 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Victoria University, Toronto, through the nomination of his brother, after the exhibition of some of his work at the Chicago Exposition. It is as "Dr. Moulton" that he is remembered in Tonga.

Physically, he was impressive, with his leonine head and beard, and his commanding presence. There was a flamboyant side to his nature that appealed to the Tongan love of display. Intellectually, he was a giant. It was pitiful that a man of his stature should have become embroiled in squalid quarrels with Shirley Baker, who soon became jealous of his success and finally used his influence with the king to destroy, at least temporarily, Moulton's lifework. Fortunately, his solid achievements are recognized today in the Church and the land to which his genius was dedicated.

Moulton made his plans for the formal opening of Tupou College in February 1866. The Minutes of the Australasian Conference showed the title "Native Training Institution" and "District Training Institution" alongside Moulton's name for the years 1865-8, and the name "Tupou College" did not appear in the Minutes until 1869. From the outset, however, Moulton was determined that it should be a "College". Outsiders smiled at such a name for an island school; no other school in the Pacific had been so called. George Tupou sanctioned the use of his royal name for the College. Among the first students was Wellington Ngu, the king's grandson; incidentally, Moulton required, and the king agreed, that the prince should observe all the rules and enjoy no special privileges.

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Moulton had special aims as well as a distinctive curriculum for his College. He sought to prepare the most promising pupils for positions in the Government and the Church. The College was not a formal theological institution as Francis Wilson's "Academy" had been in Vava'u in 1841 nor did it follow the model of Richard Amos, who combined a course of theological studies with his general

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[ca. 1866 - 1873]

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teaching. At Tupou College biblical exegesis and doctrines and church history were taught, but only as a minor part of a wide general curriculum. The emphasis on preparing students for Government positions and the absence of a separate theological section brought criticisms from some of Moulton's colleagues. J. B. Watkin wrote to Stephen Rabone, now Missionary Secretary, on 13 December 1874:

> "I must say that, had I known that the College would have become what it is, I should have opposed it with all my might. I do not consider that the fruit brought forth is at all commensurate with the expense incurred; practically the College is almost useless. . . . We have attempted what we cannot possibly maintain. My opinion is that an institution like that of the late Mr. Amos's would have been far more useful than the present affair." (42)

It became clear that Moulton wanted to control the College as though it was virtually independent of the District Meeting. He claimed freedom to enrol students for Government positions, with a bonus from the Government for their expenses. He held services for the College separately from the Zion congregation. His expenditure called forth criticism from his colleagues. One of them, Henry Greenwood, wrote to Rabone (10 August 1872):

> "Mr. Moulton has spent hundreds of pounds on the College, under the plea that permission was granted by the deputation [= Rabone and Watkin in 1869] and all we had to do was to pass the balance sheet when the money has been expended . . . Hundreds of pounds have been expended without the consent of the District Meeting or the Committee in Sydney. . . .
>
> "Though a large amount of money was given by the friends in Australia with the idea that the College was for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries the fruit of all these years in that particular is one catechist." (43)

The Missionary Committee in Sydney, on 7 April 1873, received, and evidently endorsed, a recommendation from the Tonga District Meeting:

> "In the opinion of the Meeting it is exceedingly desirable that the training of native ministers should be kept prominently before the conductors (sic) of Tupou College." (44)

It was regrettable that such a unique educational project as Tupou College should be affected by disputes among the missionaries, a recurring skirmish for which Moulton's obstinacy was partly responsible. Greenwood reported,

> "Ever since the commencement of the College it has been a source of dissension between Mr. Moulton and the brethren." (45)

Moulton's ambitions were seen in his curriculum. The teaching of English was attempted but given up as proving too difficult (especially when the students had little opportunity of practice with a very small European population). Even Latin and French were tried but quickly discarded as unsuitable. In general, Moulton followed a syllabus approximating to one generally used in the English public schools of the day. He stressed mathematics, in which he himself excelled and for which he believed Tongans were well adapted, though educators since his time have not always agreed with that opinion. The syllabus included geography (of the formal type then in vogue), history (especially ancient history), astronomy, physics and chemistry, which gave students illustrations for sermons and addresses rather than strictly scientific training. It was amazing that this indefatigable teacher wrote all his text-books in Tongan and also printed them on a printing press which he had ingeniously acquired.

Criticisms were launched against Moulton's educational schemes as too academic and beyond the Tongans' needs, and also against his methods of stimulating ambition, especially by the use of gowns and trenchers for "graduates".

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[1866-1874]

In Moulton's view it was the only "University" Tongans were likely to know in the 19th Century and, therefore, University-type insignia were warranted. When Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Fiji, visited Tonga in 1878, while Moulton was in England on translation work, he was greeted at Tupou College by David Tonga, who had been the first pupil, first dux, and was acting headmaster during Moulton's absence. Gordon wrote,

> "At Tupou College, the principal, a native elaborately got up in clerical and academical costume, mortar-board and all, received me." (46)

An honour-board system was a stimulus for the students. A series of these boards, from 1866 to the present, carefully treasured, had a great influence on the progress of Tupou College. At the Centenary the names of these men and women were read for hours to a hushed assembly of several thousands in the open air. In his later years Moulton instituted a system of post-graduate lessons, to foster continued keenness. Whatever criticisms may be made against the gowns &c., there is no doubt that Moulton instilled a love of learning in many of the Tongans, and he produced men of ability and marked spirituality who became outstanding leaders in Church and Government. Taken altogether, Moulton's work at Tupou College fully merited the praise and popularity he received.

It is not surprising that Moulton met disappointments also. All was not well with the morals of some students, and Baker was not alone in pointing this out. In 1873 Moulton's own report read:

> "The number of backsliders is far greater than we anticipated; so far it has been chiefly amongst the Government students, and the licentiousness of the youths of rank is incorrigible. This is a circumstance that causes us the deepest concern and bodes ill for the future of Tonga." (47)

Moulton found it necessary to expel such "incorrigible" students.

The king was most gratified with the progress of the College. In 1870 he gave a scholarship worth £200, tenable for two years. In 1873 the first organ in Tonga was installed at the College. It was, naturally, in the pre-secession days that the enrolment was larger, the interest more intense, and the atmosphere free from the feuding that followed the foundation of a rival college in 1882 and a rival Church in 1885.

Lorimer Fison, M.A. (Cambridge), Wesleyan missionary from Fiji, visited Tonga in November 1874 and brought a pre-conceived disbelief in the suitability of a "College" transplanted into the Central Pacific. Writing to *Sydney Morning Herald*, on 21 June 1875, he described his inspection of Moulton's classes. He acknowledged his prejudice; he stated that he had heard that the curriculum made students conceited but he concluded that this happened only with the less worthy lads. He tested (of course, through translation) the work done in mathematics, geography &c., and noted that the College possessed a telescope and meteorological equipment. He was amazed when Moulton's college choir sang Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum" and Mozart's "Gloria". Altogether, Fison not only withdrew his disbelief but added that Moulton's genius should have "a wider and more important field" than Tonga. He was justified in this opinion of a brilliant man who remained in this small field, heading for ignominious quarrels and crushing defeats.

Whenever Baker visited Australia he praised Moulton's work at Tupou College, as H. C. Oldmeadow heard him do while he was on furlough.(48) The College was held up before Australian audiences as crowning evidence of progress

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[1869-1880]

in the Mission. Baker adopted a very different attitude when he returned to Tonga. His jealousy had been aroused as early as 1869 by the praise given by the deputation, Rabone and Watkin: they spoke of the College as a "positive wonder" and Moulton as "an encyclopaedia of accomplishment". They had noted that the students were "all dressed in European attire" and gave evidence of success with chemistry, surveying, and translating from Homer into Tongan hexameters! (49)

Baker began his disastrous policy of inflated fund-raising to please the Committee in Sydney and also as a counter-balance to the popularity of Moulton with the Committee. Moulton complained that Baker was discouraging enrolments as well as criticizing the College's usefulness.(50) It became apparent that Baker wished to get rid of such a talented rival as Moulton; this was shown in his letter to Chapman, Missionary Secretary (5 July 1872):

> "As things are the College is a nuisance and the sooner either Mr. Moulton goes or changes the better, or else let the College go for it is a hindrance to our work and only causing unpleasantness." (51)

Later, on 16 July 1874, Baker wrote to Chapman, stating that three ministers such as J. B. Watkin, together with a lay headmaster for Tupou College, would meet all the needs of the Mission and the College.(52) This clear indication of Baker's obstructive policy was given before the increased tension of following years, and before 1877 when he was glad to see Moulton depart to England for three years to revise the Tongan New Testament.

On the other hand, Moulton was at fault in acting as no head of a Church school should have done. Whatever his feelings about Baker's antipathy towards him and the College, he was not justified in his determination to keep the College free from the control of the District Meeting. His practice of expending money at the College and expecting almost automatic acceptance by the District Meeting had irked his brethren who drew up regulations on both College expenditure and discipline in December 1871. Moulton heatedly resigned and only withdrew on condition that the College be removed to Pangaimotu, an island about three miles from Nuku'alofa, where he could be relieved from the presence of his critical brethren. He wrote to Chapman (21 May 1872):

> "The prospect of removing the College was started in consequence of a resolution proposed by Mr. Baker and accepted by the majority which took the spiritual oversight of the College out of my hands and vested it in the Nuku'alofa minister. I immediately resigned and put it to them whether any brother would accept charge under such conditions. It was to obviate the necessity of my resignation that the removal was proposed. . . . I don't think that I am unreasonable, but I cannot accept the decision of the District Meeting." (53)

(W. T. Rabone, missionary, son of Stephen Rabone, wrote to his father that he had voted with Moulton but he deplored the quarrelling, 8 May 1872.) (54) When the king heard of the proposal to remove the College to Pangaimotu he wrote a protest to the Missionary Committee in Sydney. Rather than offend the king, the Committee supported Moulton and censured Baker. If Baker from that time onwards was Moulton's sworn foe, he had some excuse.

This was the background to the personal rivalry that brought dire penalties to both College and Mission. The last evidence of Moulton's policy of College independence was his leaving David Tonga in charge while he was absent in England, 1877-80, with instructions not to allow interference with College administration. Before this happened David and his wife, Rachel, had been sent

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by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said:

> "If left to itself the College would stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. Alas, that *IF*!" (33) (34)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College party within the Church.(37) Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily overlook.

Footnotes:

(1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.4.
(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.
(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.
(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(5) Pritchard, ibid, p.289; Derrick, ibid, p.151.
(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, ibid. Item 46.
(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas*, pp.35-6.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(14) Thomas, ibid.
(15) Thomas, ibid, 19 November 1849.
(16) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(17) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(18) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(19) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 45.
(20) Thomas, ibid, May 1877. M.L.S.
(21) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title, "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924.
(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.
(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St. Julian.
(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*. September 1862.
(27) Firth, F. to Eggleston, 21 February and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(29) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.
(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.
(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.
(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.
(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

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(41) Moulton, J. E., *Moulton of Tonga*, p.11.
(42) Watkin to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(43) Greenwood to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(44) Missionary Committee Minutes. Sydney. M.O.M.C.
(45) Greenwood to Rabone. 10 August 1872; 25 April 1873. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(46) Gordon, Sir Arthur. *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.105.
(47) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. 1873. F.W.C.
(48) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. May 1878.
(49) *M.N.*, July/October 1869, p.148; *M.N.*, 1870, 1872.
(50) Moulton to Chapman. 21 May 1872, 13 July 1872, 2 June 1873. Cat. 99. M.O.M.C.
(51) Baker to Chapman. 5 July 1872. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(52) Baker to Chapman. 16 July 1874. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(53) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(54) Rabone, W. T. to Rabone, S. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(55) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(56) Strange to say, Baker told Chapman that, during Moulton's absence in England, he himself was teaching theology, physiology and chemistry at the College, and two of his children were teaching singing and English. (11 July 1878. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.) [797] [873] [874]
(57) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2, 12 February 1877, alleging that Moulton had "made parties. College versus Church".

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Baker's influence with the king had grown but his intimate concern with all Government affairs had brought him unpopularity in many quarters. The sumptuary and social laws for which Baker was partly responsible were vexatious to the Tongans and a cause of criticism and even ridicule from European visitors and British officials in Fiji. Some of the sumptuary laws undoubtedly proved profitable for the Government's coffers and also for the traders. There seemed to be no good reason, for example, to prohibit the making of native cloth *(ngatu)* except on one day weekly, unless it was to encourage the purchase of European clothing. Baker gave a strange argument in his letter to Chapman (3 May 1876); he said that the king wanted to do away with native clothing and he himself supported this policy on the ground that

> "the natives will never use their land as long as they are allowed to use native clothing. I believe it breeds disease, engenders laziness, and costs more than good stout calico would cost." (53)

Rigid missionary feelings concerning decency may have influenced the laws which inflicted a fine of $10 for a man not wearing a shirt in public and a fine of $2 for a woman without a "pinafore" in her home or $3 for the same offence outside her home. Smoking in the case of women was met with a fine of $2.50 with costs $1.50. Apart from the trivial nature of all these offences, the fines inflicted were preposterous and oppressive in a poor community.(54) Fines for sexual offences were particularly heavy. Some Tongans went to eastern Fiji, to escape these harassing laws; this gave rise to the remark of Lorimer Fison, missionary in Fiji, "The baker there is making his laws too crusty".(55) The most extraordinary example was Niua Fo'ou, with a population of under 2,000, and a record of $8,350 fines, including $4,613 for sexual offences, between March 1877 and July 1878.(56)

Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, first Governor of Fiji in 1874, frequently entered the scene in Tonga when he became High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Gordon was soon critical of Baker because of his intrusion into politics and, especially, his pro-German policy. Gordon was an experienced colonial administrator, with a background of British culture and High Anglicanism, but he was always disposed to uphold the interests of indigenous Pacific peoples. He gave full recognition to the value of the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji although he evinced some disdain towards the missionaries themselves. This superior attitude was still more marked when he was dealing with an ill-educated and aggressive missionary-politician in Shirley Baker.

Gordon, after his visit to Tonga in 1878, stated —

> "I am informed that nearly 90% of the population were last year fined or imprisoned for breaches of the sumptuary laws as to clothing, smoking, playing at games, &c." (57)

With regard to the prohibition upon making *ngatu*, Gordon said,

> "It is Mr. Baker who makes the laws, and this insisting on the adoption of European clothes is enforced by heavy penalties".

Gordon also commented on Baker's extravagance in building a new girls' college for the Mission, "a huge, unfinished building, with three towers, built round a quadrangle".(58)

In 1879 the highly unpopular sumptuary laws were either repealed or greatly modified. The laws against *ngatu* making, except in large towns, were repealed. The prohibition against women smoking was removed, except for persons under sixteen years of age and child-bearing women. The wearing of shirts and

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which included the building of five memorial churches and a new College Hall. Of £14,759, the total amount raised in 1875, £6,124 was for the Jubilee Fund and £3,490 for the Home Mission Fund.[18] The Jubilee Fund was expected also to build a new "Ladies' College" which, the king asked, should be called "Queen Charlotte's College" (in honour of his wife); he headed the list for this purpose with £1.000.[19] Baker said:

> "The Ladies' College will be the finest and largest building in Tonga or, in fact, in the South Seas, when it is finished." (He hoped this would be in December 1878; actually, it was never finished.)[20]

The accusation that the Tongans were filling the coffers of the Australian Church was palpably false. Nevertheless, the great increase in sums sent overseas cannot be excused nor, still less, the unworthy methods used by Baker to induce the people to give beyond their means.

King George had determined to raise contributions after he had travelled to Sydney in 1853. The Wesleyan Conference in 1855 (the first after separation from Britain that year), resolved —

> "Conference records its great satisfaction at the successful efforts made by the people in Tonga, through King George . . . to meet the entire expenditure of the Mission by large and regular supplies of oil and trusts that this noble example, the first, we believe, on record in missionary times, will be speedily followed by other Missions placed in similar circumstances."[21]

The financial statements for 1855 showed estimated revenue from Tonga £1,100, estimated expenditure £1,386, expenses for the brig *John Wesley* used for Tonga and Fiji £1.000.[22] In 1866 estimated receipts from Tonga were £1,350, estimated expenditure £2,711.[23]

As sums sent overseas increased some missionaries expressed concern. John Vercoe, in Ha'apai, may have exaggerated, but he wrote:

> "That this little group" (= Ha'apai), "with some 4,000 people, should send away £1,000 per annum, whilst her chapels are mere sheds, and her native ministers and local preachers are in rags, is, I confess, a matter of which in the future we shall be ashamed."[24]

When Baker became Chairman in 1869, he began a policy of stimulating more giving that brought him praise from the Missionary Committee, but criticisms from some of his colleagues; the amount raised in 1869 rose to £5,480, and this was very much exceeded in the next decade.

In 1871 the Earl of Pembroke and Dr. G. H. Kingsley visited the South Seas and made caustic criticisms of Wesleyan missionaries in general; their knowledge of Tonga came only from reading missionary reports as they did not include it in their itinerary. Their remarks reflected the contemporary scorn of Nonconformists shown by some lordly Englishmen, but there was justification for their strictures concerning the undesirable means Baker was using. Wesleyan missionary circles in Australia and Britain felt embarrassed by the publicity. The missionaries in Tonga, so said "The Earl and the Doctor", were "canting sharks"; the writers added,

> "To those who know the generous excitable nature of the South Sea Islanders, this must be looked upon as sheer pillage."[25]

The people's susceptibility to rivalry gave Baker ample opportunity for exploitation. Nothing was dearer to Tongan hearts than praise, nothing more precious than prestige. Few families were willing to be outdone by the gifts of others. Villages were easily pitted against each other. The challenges were made in

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king was adamant and vaguely threatened more trouble for the Church. The tone of this correspondence (in Tongan) showed how feeling had hardened on both sides, even though probably Moulton felt that Baker, and not the king, was responsible for the king's letter.[25] Eventually, Watkin stayed in Nuku'alofa, but the relationship between the king and Moulton became still more strained. With Moulton as Chairman of the District, there was now little prospect of reconciliation. Also, Watkin had made up his own mind about his future actions.

The downward turn of events for the Wesleyan Church increased rapidly. The Mission Board (still responsible for Tonga until 31 December 1881), at its meeting on 31 August 1881, expressed its astonishment at the latest news. All Church primary schools had been taken over by the Government without notice and without consultation or compensation; Baker was responsible for this. The holding of the missionary meetings for the year had been prohibited. According to Baker's own newspaper, *Po'opo'oi*, the Church was to be subject to Government interference and control. With regard to the last possibility, the Board instructed its agents to give "loyal obedience to the laws of the country", with the hope also that they would be free to carry out their duties to the Church.

Benjamin Chapman, Missionary Secretary for the previous eight years, died a fortnight after the Mission Board's meeting of 31 August. He had borne the anxieties of the troubles in Tonga and had done his utmost to conciliate the king. It was on his motion in the Mission Board and the General Conference (May 1881) that financial assistance to the new independent Tonga District had been promised in the event of any natural calamity such as a hurricane.

On 19 October 1881, Baker wrote to George Woolnough, President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, stating that the king had cancelled the missionary meetings before hearing that General Conference had made Tonga an independent district; that the king was "overjoyed" with that decision and only hoped that Mr. Watkin would not be removed to Ha'apai. He significantly added the desire that Watkin should take Moulton's place as Chairman. Clearly, the displacing of Moulton had become the crux of the situation.

Baker wrote from Auckland, on 30 December 1881, to Dr. Waugh, President of General Conference, stating again that the king was gratified with the decisions of the General Conference in May. Baker was anxious to impress ministers from Victoria like Dr. Waugh. In his veiled reference to Moulton he deplored the prevailing "unhappy circumstances" in the Tongan Church and he told Dr. Waugh that

> "those in charge of the Islands at the present time seem unwilling to make the arrangements a success". (26)

The arrangements to which Baker referred were the new status of the Tongan Church. Baker's obvious aim was to get Moulton out of the way. It was unfortunate that Moulton was not helping to ease the desperately difficult situation. Baker was unscrupulous, Moulton unwise and even provocative, and the contest was bitter but unequal. Moulton should have realized the impossibility of thwarting Baker who was not only Premier but used the royal name to cover his actions.

The first attack was upon Moulton's educational system, the apple of his eye. The Wesleyan village schools were taken over by the Government. Then Baker set up Tonga College, or the Government College, as it was generally called, to compete with Moulton's Tupou College. With Government support, the new institution soon outstripped its rival in enrolments.

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[1874-1885]

The possibility of the Mission relinquishing the primary schools had been ventilated previously. The letter of 24 March 1874, from the king and chiefs, had asked for the Church primary schools to be handed over to the Government. The Tonga District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, dealt with this request on 30 November 1874, and decided

> "that the day schools connected with the Mission be maintained efficiently until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education . . . The best plan for many years yet will be a denominational system." (27)

Immediately following upon this, the Mission Board, on 3 January 1875, had resolved to maintain efficiently all its day schools in Tonga "until adequate provision is made by the Government for primary education". Now that Baker had taken action to acquire the Church schools, without notice, the Mission Board, on 31 August 1881, reiterated its belief that

> "the time has not arrived when the Church schools can, with advantage to the people of Tonga, be relinquished." (28)

Compensation was promised, but never paid, for the land and school buildings.

In Sydney, in 1878, when Oldmeadow was on furlough, he had heard Baker speak eulogistically about the Church day schools and Tupou College. After Baker took over the schools in 1881, he met Oldmeadow in Vava'u. Oldmeadow expressed disagreement with his action. Baker contended that he was following the example of the Australian colonies which had set up a secular educational system. Oldmeadow argued, as other missionaries had done, that the circumstances in a recently-evangelized country such as Tonga were quite different from those in Australia. Following this conversation, Oldmeadow wrote in his journal:

> "I have taken a great deal of pains to discover his [Baker's] object, and I am bound to confess that the conclusion I have been obliged to come to is that it must be simply spite and greed of power — spite against the Conference by which he was forced to retire from the ministry as they would not allow him to be both virtual Premier and missionary in one, and spite against an individual in particular who in connection with Tupou College had had so much to do with the success which had been achieved in the matter of education. . . .
>
> "For a long time I fought against the conviction, but after long and careful watching I am obliged to adopt it that it was an act of vindictiveness, knowing that the irritation caused would be severe against the individual in question [i.e., Moulton], and a desire to lessen the influence of the Church on the one hand and increase his own on the other. And how has it succeeded!" (29)

The Government college began in 1882, with Mr. J. W. Roberts as Principal. Baker had known Roberts in his youthful days at Castlemaine, Victoria. He was a skilful teacher and a Methodist local preacher. Among other things Roberts introduced a system of Pitman shorthand in Tongan. It was decreed that Government positions in future would be given only to those trained in the Government College, a thrust against Tupou College which had prepared men for both Government and Church offices since 1866. At first the Government College students attended the Wesleyan services in Zion Church but, because of the presence of Tupou College students and the growing ill-feeling between the two parties, Roberts kept his lads at the Government College and conducted services for them there. After the secession in 1885 the Government College trained men who became pastors in the Free Church. This was one of many evidences of Government support for the Free Church.

Against mounting odds Moulton continued his teaching, hymn-writing, and church administration. He had practical problems also. During a storm one

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evening he felt one of the twelve pillars in the College Hall move as he was leaning against it; each of these had been cut from a single ironwood tree for the hall, which measured 120 by 30 feet. Moulton realized that all posts needed replacing urgently. He asked the king for permission to get trees from the royal estate and his request was graciously granted, although the king had been estranged from him.

* * * *

Baker had never been popular with European residents in Tonga. Their resentment against his authority began when he was still a missionary, as seen in the complaints made to Consul Layard against him in 1876 and in their support for the Maudslay case in the critical year, 1879. That Baker was hated by European traders, many of them men with tarnished reputations, was not always to his discredit. As Premier, he could not be expected to favour the traders, but he had aroused their anger by heavy customs duties and by currency laws which operated severely against them and concerning which they protested loudly.

Opposition to Baker's authoritarian rule also was aroused among some of the Tongan chiefs, particularly those in Hahake, the eastern district, where old chiefly rivalries with the king still existed. Disaffection centred in Tungi, the chief of the ancient capital, Mu'a, who was the descendant of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and a claimant to the royal succession since the death of 'Unga. The king's support for his zealous Premier displeased many in Hahake. For Baker himself this party had undisguised hatred. The combined forces of hostile chiefs and European traders began an agitation for Baker's removal. The Mu'a opposition became what Baker sarcastically called it — "the Mu'a Parliament". When the king learnt of the movement he sent for some of the Hahake leaders and told them he would not give up Baker as Premier. In his newspaper, *Po'opo'oi*, Baker denounced the agitators who afterwards met to formulate a reply. For doing this they were charged with high treason but were acquitted in October 1881.

A petition to Queen Victoria asking for Baker's removal, signed by two thousand Tongans, was placed before the British Consul, H. F. Symonds, who was Moulton's son-in-law. He asked Moulton to translate it and, most imprudently, Moulton did so. On 6 January 1882 Symonds forwarded the petition through the High Commissioner. After the petition was sent the king ordered the arrest and trial of a number of the Mu'a party prominent in organizing the petition. He also brought warriors from Ha'apai and Vava'u, his older territories on which he always relied for support, to back up his stern measures against those whom he regarded as rebels. He even threatened to hang them without trial. Moulton went to the king to protest against bringing men from the north as this action was likely to intensify the troubles in Tongatapu. It was on this occasion that Tupou found that Moulton had translated the petition for Baker's removal. His wrath knew no bounds. He withdrew to Ha'apai, vowing not to return to Tongatapu while Moulton was still there.

Moulton was entirely in the wrong in becoming involved in these anti-Baker political movements. Whatever his own opinions of Baker's high-handed actions in Government affairs, he should have kept scrupulously free from political matters. The position was aggravated when he supported, without signing, another petition from European residents for Baker's removal in May 1882. When this petition reached Sir Arthur Gordon he recommended the British Government not to remove Baker although, he said, he was "a narrow-minded, selfish and ignorant

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[1885]

taken aback, only expostulated with the Wesleyans and then ended the assembly without any punishment. This was an anti-climax. It also marked the peak of Wesleyan resistance.

The failure of the king's assembly to quell the Wesleyans only spurred the chiefs to more repression. While the Wesleyans were in Nuku'alofa, the men from Vava'u and Ha'apai roamed the island destroying the Wesleyans' gardens. This had a subduing effect on many who were wavering. The loss of food for a family was worse even than a flogging. After this, some either genuinely or temporarily joined the Free Church to escape punishment; others became Roman Catholics for the same reason. The number of Moulton's supporters sharply declined.

On 20 July Tupou College grounds were invaded by warriors from the north who prepared to carry away the students by force. Moulton came at once and began to take the intruders' names as a precautionary measure; he was soon supported by the British Consul and other Europeans. The king and Baker lost little time in repudiating this action. However, Baker forbade any students to leave Government schools and enrol at Tupou College without permission from the Government, and this anti-Wesleyan measure caused a considerable falling off in the College enrolment.

After the men from the north were sent home there was a lull in violence. Baker was sensitive to the adverse publicity he was receiving overseas; then, and afterwards, he put the blame on the shoulders of the chiefs. Thurston, Assistant High Commissioner, came in September 1885 and did so in a steamer, not the warship which Moulton had led his people to expect to come to their relief. The king had ordered their detention in Nuku'alofa for three months past. After Thurston had been assured by Baker that there would be freedom of worship for all, the people were sent back to their villages. Thurston's departure was followed by a widespread rumour that he had told the king that he was free to do as he liked with his own subjects. In Ha'apai, a letter, purporting to have the king's authority, was circulated and was used to bring about the arrest of all the Wesleyans still left in that group. The letter, which was proved to be a forgery, stated that Thurston had blamed the Wesleyans for the troubles and had said that Moulton would be withdrawn from Tonga. On the strength of these false statements, as Sir Charles Mitchell found in 1887, the Ha'apai Wesleyans were confined in the Church compound in Lifuka for two months, "suffering considerable hardships — this done, no doubt, by the direct order of the king . . . who was still in Ha'apai".(60)

Although Baker had promised Thurston to restore Church lands and give freedom of worship to all, he proceeded to enact measures in contravention of this undertaking, laws more unjust and repressive than any others. In November 1885, a pliant Parliament passed the notorious Law of the Six and the Law of the Thirty. One forbade the holding of a Church service in any village which had fewer than six Wesleyan "genuine inhabitants"; this would result in the closing of many churches. The other forbade the appointment of any pastor in a village with fewer than thirty "genuine inhabitants" who were Wesleyans. It was alleged that these laws were passed in order to prevent Moulton sending preachers to villages to win back people who had gone over to the Free Church; and Moulton evidently was doing this in some cases. The obvious purpose, however, was to stamp out the Wesleyan cause altogether, as these laws would do, except in a few large villages. Mitchell blamed Baker for what he condemned as laws deliberately

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(1) That Tonga should be an Annual Conference, on certain conditions. 795

(2) That Moulton, who had requested some years before to be permitted to leave, should be now withdrawn from Tonga because 797

> "the king is so strongly opposed to Mr. Moulton's continued residence in Tonga and there is but little hope of his opposition being withdrawn or of this grievous wound being healed so long as Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga."

The first recommendation was adopted unanimously. The second was lost by 74 votes to 31. Moulton had many friends in the Conference and, also, it was known that the little Wesleyan remnant in Tonga, at the Tongatapu Quarterly Meeting, had unanimously asked for Moulton to remain.

In their recommendation that Moulton should be removed, Brown and Fletcher had reported that,

> "However unjust it may be, Mr. Moulton is still accused of having exercised upon the minds of the students and some of the people an influence against the present Government."

They added that there were only twenty students at Tupou College and they [873] considered that Moulton's talents were wasted.

Brown and Fletcher also favoured Conference status for a reunited Church. In this regard they pointed out that the Free Church was already a Conference, and that

> "the Free Church attached great importance to their having control of all funds collected by them."

On the other hand, it was reported, that the Wesleyan remnant objected to being handed over to the Free Church

> "in the present embittered state, arising from persecutions and wrongs which they have undoubtedly suffered." (3)

When Baker read this, he wrote to Brown (1 August 1887):

> "If, as you infer, there is a doubt as to whether the few followers of Mr. Moulton will agree to such a union, it is only but another proof that the position they hold is not one of religion but of political antagonism to His Majesty and his Government." (4)

Baker was occasionally in touch with Wesleyan ministers in Conferences other than New South Wales. Some of them had been critical of Moulton's obstinacy and were anxious to find a compromise that would facilitate reunion. Lorimer Fison, formerly of Fiji, wrote from Melbourne on 5 March 1888, suggesting to Baker that a plan be prepared for the 1888 General Conference. He naively thought that the first President of the reunited Tonga Conference might be appointed from Australia, with Watkin as his Vice-President, and after a time Tonga would elect its own President. Fison supported the removal of Moulton and Crosby and expressed his belief that Baker desired reunion. J. G. Symons, also of Victoria, the incoming President of General Conference, wrote to Baker on 11 April 1888, in a letter marked "Private and Confidential", stating that he had conferred with Fison and agreed with his proposal.(5)

When the 1888 General Conference met in Melbourne in May, there was great public interest in "the Tongan question", with crowded galleries. It was the first General Conference since the secession in 1885. The Church press reported verbatim many of the lengthy addresses. Responsible leaders in General Conference feared that the issues were seriously dividing the home Church as well as destroying the future of the Tongan Church. Baker had sent a letter, 23 April 1888, making the king's request (in Baker's words):

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[1892 - 1896]

It was significant that Sir John Thurston, and Leefe, the British Consul, were strongly opposed to Moulton's return although they knew that the Wesleyans desired it. Langham, Chairman of the Fiji District, also felt that it would be unwise. The High Commissioner wrote to the President of the New South Wales Conference on 29 March 1892: 797

> "The High Commissioner places on record his opinion and belief that the reappointment and residence of Mr. Moulton in Tonga will result in a reopening of the troubles and dissensions which were quieted barely two years ago. The High Commissioner is satisfied that King George would view Mr. Moulton's return as an act of unkindness, if not of hostility, on the part of the Wesleyan Conference . . . If Mr. Baker returns to Tonga, voluntarily or otherwise, and troubles arose, official action would certainly be embarrassed, perhaps neutralized, by the presence of Mr. Moulton. . . . If Mr. Moulton is returned to Tonga by the Conference and troubles arise between the so-called Free Church and the Wesleyan Mission Church, the Conference will have no just claim to the sympathy or assistance of that authority which it formerly invoked. Wilfred Collet, Secretary." (26) [643]

On 12 October 1892, the High Commissioner wrote to J. C. Symons, President of the General Conference:

> "Since the previous letter, the king has written to the High Commissioner stating that he does not wish Mr. Baker or Mr. Moulton to return to Tonga." (27) [643]

In view of these adverse opinions, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs recommended the New South Wales Conference to permit Moulton to visit Tonga for short periods only. In the meantime, Moulton went ahead with his literary work in Sydney. Eventually the New South Wales Conference in 1895 appointed Moulton to be Principal of Tupou College and Superintendent of the Tongatapu Circuit, but not to reside continuously in Tonga; he spent two or three months there in 1895, the same in 1896, and short periods in later years. In spite of his conspicuous ability and intellectual gifts, the evidence reveals that Moulton had become personally objectionable to the Free Church people and an insuperable obstacle to any possibility of reunion. [873] [795]

It can be said now that Moulton's beneficial influence in the land he loved has outweighed the unfortunate effects of his prolonged feuds with Baker and his misunderstandings with the old king. Unwise though he had often been, and though the Wesleyan remnant had suffered for his indiscretions, he retained the unquenchable affection of his faithful followers. Not only was he a scholar from a family of scholars, a teacher of unusual brilliance, and a preacher of penetrating power. He must also have been a man of magnetic personality to bind the persecuted Wesleyans to him with strong cords of love. Outwardly his work could be found in his monumental translation of the whole Bible, a work covering nearly thirty years and completed with the publication of the Old Testament in 1902, his 264 superb hymns, his many other literary productions and musical transcriptions. Even more enduring was the quality of the ministers and laymen he trained. This quality stood out like the high islands of Kao and Tofua, in Tongan imagery. Moulton died in Sydney on 9 May 1909. A granite obelisk, erected to his memory, stands outside Tupou College Chapel today.

"The Grand Old Man of the Pacific", George Tupou I, passed away on 18 February 1893 at 96 years of age. It was thought that he had caught a chill during his daily bathing in the sea in front of the Palace. There was general mourning for six months. No work was done on the plantations, which resulted in a serious food shortage. Time seemed to stand still in the little kingdom and the loss of the central figure of the century left his people benumbed. No one could 643 643 765 643

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in New Zealand. When Mr. Watkin visited Ha'apai in 1920, his ministers gave him an honour reserved in ancient times for the Tu'i Tonga and the Tamaha; ten black-coated Free Church ministers waded into the sea at Lifuka and carried the boat ashore with Mr. Watkin seated in it.[47]

It was sometimes hoped that the Free Church might co-operate with the Wesleyans in sending ministers and pastor-teachers to overseas fields. When Rodger Page, Chairman of the Wesleyan Church, made a request to Mr. Watkin in 1912 to persuade some of his ministers to answer an urgent call from New Britain and go together with Wesleyans, the appeal fell on deaf ears; and a discreet inquiry along the same lines from the Mission Board in Sydney met with no response whatever.

The disparity between the financial strength of the two Churches was marked. Visitors to Tonga sometimes commented upon the contrast between the large and ornate buildings of the Free Church and the poor properties of the Wesleyans. The fact was that the Wesleyans had the burden of their primary schools and the College, and they had a struggle to pay Tongan ministers and teachers a meagre allowance as well as support two or three European ministers and European female teachers. The Free Church, on the other hand, left education entirely to the Government; and, with its numerical strength, it was able to build and maintain its handsome churches.

Throughout the early years of the 20th Century the strength of the Free Church appeared especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u whereas, proportionately, the Wesleyans had a better following in Tongatapu. In 1902 the numbers for the Free Church were — Ha'apai, 4,883; Vava'u, 4,413; Tongatapu, 4,616. In 1923 their numbers were — Ha'apai, 6,416; Vava'u, 4,886; Tongatapu, 5,344. In 1911 the denominational statistics showed — Free Church, 15,968; Wesleyans, 4,055; Roman Catholics, 2,387.

* * * *

At nearly every General Conference the question of a possible reunion in Tonga was introduced, but with more optimism than knowledge of the position. Its messages in 1901 and 1904 were rejected by the Free Church. The 1913 General Conference wrote to Mr. Watkin asking him to bring the question of union before his next Conference, with the assurance that Free Church ministers and members "would be welcomed to the fellowship and brotherhood of the Australian Church". However sincere the motive, the expression was infelicitous. The message continued,

> "Should union with the Methodist Church in New Zealand" (recently separated from Australia) "be preferred, the General Conference will consider any proposal in that direction." (48)

General Conference authorized the President-General to take all necessary steps before the next General Conference (in 1917) for giving effect to the reunion proposals if these were accepted by the Free Church. This resolution was useless at that time; yet, as it transpired, the President-General in 1924 used the powers given in 1913 to endorse the reunion settlement from the Wesleyan (Methodist) side. When Mr. Watkin replied, in July 1916, to the 1913 General Conference's request, he merely said,

> "There are still grave difficulties in the way. The benefits of union would be very great but a forced union would greatly increase the difficulties."

And there he let the matter rest.

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[1925-1926]

Furthermore, the old rivalry between the Government College (the stronghold of the Free Church throughout its history) and Tupou College had much to do with the divided Church. Then, too, the Free Church ministers who refused to unite wanted to keep their positions and privileges, and this feeling became stronger as years went by. 795 577 [73] [43]

It said volumes for the Queen's restraint and fairness that, although she must have been grieved by the non-fulfilment of her desires, this did not affect her outwardly. She continued to show the same regard for those who opposed her wishes as for those who had followed her in the united Church. 795 578 643

The 1925 Conference elected Page President, a position to which he was re-elected every year afterwards without question. The Secretary of Conference in 1925 was John Havea, senior tutor at Tupou College, and a conspicuous example of the reconciling spirit that had brought the Wesleyans into union; he was re-elected to that position until his death in March 1942. 795

When forwarding a copy of the Constitution of the Church to the President-General on 18 February 1925, Page referred to the 795 643

> "mode of election of the President of the Tongan Conference. It will be seen that provision has been made for the exercise of the royal prerogative. While this is a departure from Methodist custom we feel that it is a necessary safeguard, the value of which can be appreciated only by those with a knowledge of existing circumstances in Tonga." (1)

Page was sincere in this belief and he could give reasons for "the royal prerogative" in the early days of union. Since then it has been difficult to see justification for a departure from the theological principle of "the Crown Rights of the Redeemer" in the Church.

Page's fear of another development which did not materialize appeared in his letter to the ex-President-General, Dr. A. McCallum (29 June 1925): 795

> "The non-unionists still continue their existence as a Church. After Mr. Watkin's death, they appointed an Anglican lay reader to the position of President. This man had been sent here by the Bishop of Polynesia to open a school for European children. . . . I admit that I have always been a little sceptical about the reason stated for his coming, due to a remark made by an Anglican archdeacon while on a visit to Tonga. This archdeacon stated that it was very evident that the Free Church would go to pieces on Mr. Watkin's death and that it was advisable for them to be established in time and that he would bring the matter before the Bishop while in Suva. . . . There is an effort being made to induce these non-unionists to join the Anglican Church." (2)

The Free Church followers who opposed union did not long continue as one body. Within two years there was a further division. One section, with its strength mainly in Ha'apai, separated and called itself simply "The Church of Tonga"; it was often called "The Church of the Chiefs" because its leader was Finau 'Ulukalala. The other section, the larger of the two, kept the name, "Free Church of Tonga". Both of these have had Tongan Presidents ever since they separated.

The General Conference of 1926, held in Brisbane, was not attended by any representative from Tonga, but the constitution of the Free Wesleyan Church was approved without any amendment.

The year 1926 was marked by the observance of the Centenary. The coming of John Thomas in 1826 was taken officially as the beginning of the evangelization of Tonga. In this there was no reflection upon the work of the London Missionary Society, nor upon Walter Lawry in 1822-3, but rather a recognition of the continuous work begun by John Thomas whose name had become a legend among the Tongans. Visitors from Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji, including J. G. 797

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[1921-1952]

Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted several weeks. 797

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union. 795

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built. 368 346

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly Church". 795 426 565 622

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief. 795 622 565

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education. 795 871

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. H. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George 795 873 [191]

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Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December 1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions, with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church, but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

• • • •

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College, the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by 70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific, seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works, Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always wholeheartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio was sung from memory and with great eclat. 873 [443] [765] [533]

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of 'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga. 874 [797] 873

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only 10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had 2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29 primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils. 795 873

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August 1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches, established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches), consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become members of the Council of Churches. 795 [779] [796] [793]

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the appendix. Special reference is made to the following:— 793 797

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Arthur M. Sanders, an Englishman, hearty and dependable, served for thirteen years at Vava'u. A forceful preacher, he possessed a magnificent speaking and singing voice. 793 797

Charles Moore, another Englishman, gave eight unbroken years most conscientiously to an appreciative people in Ha'apai and Vava'u.

George Harris, M.A., 1926-34, returned in 1961 and finished his ministry as President of the Tonga Conference until his retirement in 1969. His faithful leadership was of outstanding quality.

Cecil F. Gribble, M.A., Dip.Ed., was Principal of Tupou College for three years and was then asked by the Government to become Director of Education; he placed teacher-training in all schools on a new basis before returning to Australia where he became General Secretary for Overseas Missions. 873 871

Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D., succeeded Mr. Page as President of Conference in 1947. In a total term of sixteen years he proved an efficient and careful administrator.

Kenneth Grove, B.A., served in Vava'u for eleven years, dying very shortly after leaving Tonga in 1958.

Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed., was fourteen years in Tonga at Tupou College and the Theological College. His outstanding successes in preparing students for the L.Th. examination at Sia'atoutai have been mentioned.

Howard W. Secomb, B.A., Dip.Ed., served for fourteen years, including twelve as Principal of Tupou College, Toloa, in a period of expansion; he was supported by his wife, born in a missionary family in Tonga; her knowledge of Tongan life and understanding of the people provided a liaison between the missionaries and the Tongans not often found in mission situations.

Eben E. V. Newman, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.; John Sutton, B.A.; H. Paul K. Trigge, B.Sc., B.D.; Justin J. Gooderham, B.A., and H. Geoffrey Cummins, B.A., were among the many ministers conspicuous in educational work in recent years; Mr. Cummins achieved many matriculation successes in Tonga at the newly-formed Tupou High School.

Mrs. M. E. Thompson for 22 years toiled faithfully at Queen Salote College and Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u.

Miss D. Rowlands, B.A., had the record of 25 years as Principal of Queen Salote College. She was responsible for developments which made her school not only the largest but the most influential girls' school in Tonga. 873

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1924-1972]

the Papua-New Guinea Highlands. John Fiusati, L.Th., also a missionary in the Highlands, like Mone, died soon after returning to Tonga.

The Church in Tonga has received wholehearted support from distinguished lay members of Conference who placed the interests of the Church first always in their objectives. Among these were Solomon Ata, who succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, Moulton Finau Fisi'ihoi, lawyer and veteran member of Parliament, John Phillip Tongilava, the Queen's Secretary for more than thirty years, William Mataka 'Umufuke and Jonathan Tupou, prominent civil servants, all now deceased.

Two of the leaders today typify the dedication of the Church to its tasks. The Secretary of Conference is Siupeli Taliai, B.A., Dip.Ed., L.Th., still a comparatively young man, and first Tongan to be Principal of Tupou College with its enrolment of 700. Unusually energetic and forthright in religious and educational affairs alike, he insists on challenging the people always to obey the one Master, Jesus Christ, whose will should determine the course Tonga is setting — in family life, in the church and the nation.

The President of Conference since 1970 is John 'Amanaki Havea, B.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, U.S.A. and Doctor of Divinity (St. Paul's University, Tokyo). Son of the saintly John Havea, brother of Paul Havea of the Solomons, he breathes the same spirit of complete devotion. Except for Setaleki Manu, President for the year of reunion, 1924, 'Amanaki is the first Tongan President. He was also the first Tongan Principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College. He was chosen Chairman of the first Conference of Pacific Churches in 1960 and held that office until 1971. In 1972 he was elected one of the eight Presidents of the World Methodist Council, the only representative on the presidium from Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. His sagacity and his wide experience have won him the respect and esteem of his own people.

'Amanaki and Siupeli are the third generation of ministers in their families. Sau Faupula was the fourth in his family line. No Church shows more clearly than the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga the influence of the families of ministers from whom one generation after another has drawn its Church leaders. So the goodly succession runs. In such leadership and with the people's response lies the hope of the Church for the future.

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(1) Luke, H., *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*, p.77.

342 verandah, with a well-nurtured flower
351 garden at the front and a large stretch of smooth lawn at the back, edged with laden banana trees and other useful sources of food and shade.

575 The *Langa Fonua* House was bought
462 in September, 1957, for £4,500, the
[342] money and Tongan furnishings (mats,
[435] etc.) being collected throughout the Kingdom by women's groups. It is
575 used for general and committee meet-
462 ings and for a series of valuable classes
873 in cookery, sewing, child welfare, first aid, English and Tongan. These classes
[342] are attended by members of *Langa Fonua* from Tongatapu villages and are taught by volunteer instructors, both Tongan and European. It is a dignified yet functional house, preserving in its family furnishings the quality of a lived-in home.

Five-Day Courses For Women Leaders

575 It was in this house that three five-day
462 courses were conducted by Miss June
873 Summerton of the South Pacific Health
648 Service and myself, and in its spacious living rooms that we ate and slept and had our office.

574 We were cared for with that all-inclusive, thoughtful, unobtrusive and capacious hospitality for which Tonga is famous, delicacies or extra equipment frequently appearing from the Palace.

Receptions, dinners, cocktail parties and above all feasts and a gay and totally unsuspected surprise party organised by Princess Melenaite with the

 [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27-B]

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
0U9 Tonga 0U9

Langa Fonua Formed In 1954

Women's work in Tonga is recognised throughout as having a vital part to play in the natural structure and economy. It was after Queen Salote returned from her triumphant participation in the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London in 1953 that she called together a group of leading women in Tonga, particularly members of the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association, to discuss the formation of a local equivalent to Women's Institutes.

Out of this came the *Langa Fonua*, which was inaugurated on May 7, 1954. It is a movement dedicated to the progress of home and community through the continuous education and inspiration of the women throughout the villages.

Among a population estimated in 1955 as 56,000 there are now approximately 1,000 members in Tongatapu and the other islands, with 23 branches in Tongatapu alone, each with its own Leader and Secretary, while the policy and general directive for the movement comes from the Central Committee elected at the annual general meeting. Queen Salote is President of the *Langa Fonua*.

Headquarters House In Nuku'alofa

An outstanding feature is the headquarters house in Nuku'alofa, in the centre of that small town. It is a spacious, cool, handsomely equipped dwelling house, surrounded by a wide

[P. 26-C]

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[P. 27-A]

Some members of a sewing class.

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates came from the far-away islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, so they were daily entertained by a different local village which provided them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah. A lorry would arrive between 11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about 35 to 40, on the floor round this long laden table and eat with our fingers, helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to the superb meal. Speeches from the visitors and hosts took place throughout the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty as other countries throughout the world regarding village work, namely, the problem of keeping up interest without extraneous leadership. The morning sessions were consequently directed to-

wards programme planning related to village needs of each age group as well as simple methods of club organisation. Group discussion on the problems of village life and the opportunities for their solution through *Langa Fonua* produced the request that courses of instruction be held for sectional leaders from the different districts in subjects related to homecraft and health, particularly sewing and cooking, so that each village had its own trained local instructor who could take her part in enriching the programme of the branch meeting.

The afternoon classes consisted of sewing (patchwork and patterns) and cooking, including a brief introduction to food values and the simple home cooking of basic foods as well as invalid and weaning diets. It is for concentrated courses on these subjects that the request came from the delegates and was forwarded to the Central Committee. Lively songs opened and riotous games closed the daily sessions.

The leaders went away with a few new ideas for both the educational and recreational side of their village programme, but primarily with some realisation of what might be achieved in community education through *Langa Fonua*, especially if there were sufficient trained voluntary project leaders.

Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The Village Survey, The Woman in the Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[P. 27-C] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28-B]

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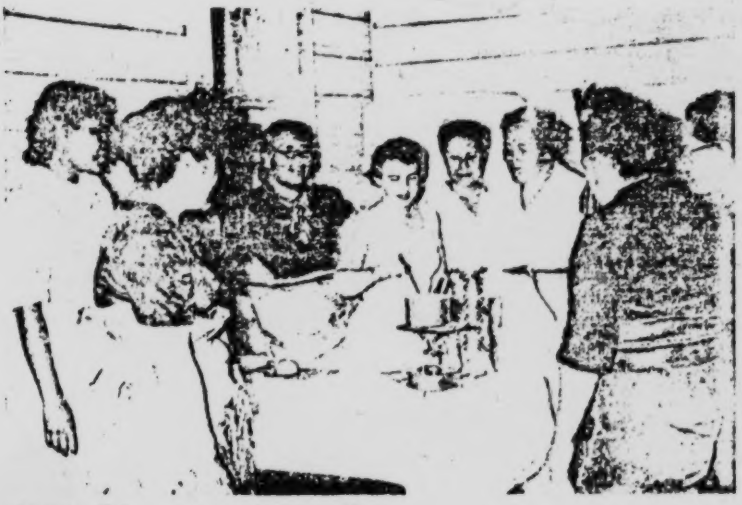

[P.27-D]

Miss June Summerton giving a cooking demonstration.

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Midday feast between classes—Miss Stewart at end of table, Miss Summerton on her left. The delegates attending this course were all from other islands, and each day they were entertained by a different local village which provided three lavish meals, the midday one being a full feast.

[P.28-A]

of the Fly and Worm, Election of Office-bearers and Project Leaders, The Balanced Diet, all helped to focus attention, and dramatisation of a successful branch meeting summed up the week's suggestions. For each course we had a series of quite superb interpreters from among the delegates. During the last week several sessions were taken by Princess Mata'aho, who had helped us on arrival with valuable translations of cooking recipes.

As a means of demonstrating the importance of local resource personnel in village programmes, help was sought from the Medical Department for three of the morning sessions. The Public Health Inspector discussed with the group the findings of the recent village inspections and the means of coping with unsolved sanitation problems; the Sister Tutor from Hospital talked of infant care and home nursing, answering innumerable questions of every variety.

Water is one of Tonga's main needs, and WHO has been holding discussions with the Government on increasing the supply. A Filipino engineer, Mr. B. Adan, is working on a pilot scheme of sinking a well with village assistance as a preliminary to further development. He held a popular and prolonged session with each course explaining the technique and demonstrating how villagers could co-operate in the maintenance of a healthy supply of water.

Annual Show In October

The work of the *Langa Fonua* is gathered up annually in their October Show with its competitions in various types of Tongan crafts, sewing (including garment making), cookery, garden produce, flowers and poultry. It is the

/276 cont./

872 the Tongan language and takes place on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago, from Monday to Friday, from 8 to 13 o'clock. Vacations are in June (about four weeks) and from mid-December to the end of January. Half-yearly examinations are held and grades given out.

[875] The teachers who teach the mixed classes of boys and girls are mostly Tongans; only six schools have white teachers. Schoolbooks are mostly the property of the teachers. The children are taught with the help of blackboards and have notebooks, pens and ink. The schoolhouses, [346] most of which are built of wood in European style (with corrugated iron [177] roofs), are partly in bad repair. While the children of the lower grades 872 sit on the floor in Tongan fashion, the intermediate and upper classes 875 are in part provided with school benches--A certain drawback in this [516] elementary school teaching is the much too small number of male and [352] female teachers. Moreover, the teachers do not all have the necessary [191] knowledge; some of them teach English, for example, and are themselves unable to speak English fluently.

873 Two of the intermediate schools /cited in English/ run by the Free Wesleyan Church are attended only by girls (between the ages of 11 and 18) who therewith complete their schooling or go on to college. The subjects [875] of the primary schools are here developed further. The teaching staff consists of white and Tongan teachers.

There are ten "secondary schools" /cited in English/ (colleges) in the Tonga Archipelago, one run by the government, four by the Wesleyan Mission, two by the Roman Catholic Church and one each by the Mormon Mission, the Anglican Church and the Adventist Mission. The male and female pupils are aged 11 to 18 (21) and attend the colleges for about five years. In 1950 (754)

754. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

there were 1650 boys and girls (commoners as well as nobles) at these educational institutions. Most of them are boarding schools to which

/276 cont./

873 students are admitted on the basis of elementary school examinations. The cost of such school attendance is quite low and is mostly borne by the parents.

[177] [178] These colleges are also run on the English system but, in keeping with Tongan needs, this is somewhat changed and less academic; there is /277/ practical training included (for example, agriculture [partly with machines] and animal husbandry [pigs, cows and dairy operation], cabinet making. The subjects taught are about the same as in the elementary schools, but the contents are of course correspondingly more difficult, and the boys are also given some basic knowledge of natural science and technology (simple mechanics). Teaching is done partly [191] in the Tongan language, partly in English. The colleges apparently do not have a high standard; they correspond more or less to the English [875] intermediate schools. Teaching is done by white and Tongan male and female teachers.

In the Tonga High School (Matriculation School) /cited in English/, which opened in 1947 in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu, European and selected Tongan male and female students are trained up to university level.

This school is organized on the model of the New Zealand District High School /cited in English/. In 1950 (755)

755. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

[875] [191] 42 white and 39 Tongan male and female students were taught here. The teaching body consists of a white "headmaster" /cited in English/ and three white "assistants" /cited in English/. Teaching is done in the English language.

874 In addition there is a vocational school in which young Tongans (over 18) are taught in subjects such as typing, bookkeeping and shorthand; after two years they take an examination and can obtain a positon [875] in government service. Only white teachers teach in this school. In 1950 (756)

/277 cont./

874 756. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 4.

28 Tongans were trained here.

874 In 1944 there was also an educational center founded in the Archi-
875 pelago for male and female Tongan teachers: the Teachers' Training College /cited in English/.

Here those natives are trained who are to teach in the elementary schools of the government and the churches. Before that, they attended an elementary school and a college and took a final examination. Their training at the Teachers' Training College lasts two years and is conducted by whites and a few Tongans; in addition they must do practice teaching for a year as assistant teachers in selected schools. In 1951 (757)

757. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/ p. 14.

45 natives were studying at this institution.

873 For more than 20 years the Tongans have also gone abroad to study;
1777 their education is financed chiefly by scholarships.

Thus in the year 1951 (758)

758. See Colonial Office, Report on Tongan for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 14.

two Tongans studied at Gatton Agricultural College in Queensland/Australia, one at the Auckland University College (New Zealand) and one at Otago University (New Zealand), while three were trained at the Central Medical School in Suva (Fiji). Some Tongan children also (thanks to the intitiative of their parents or relatives) visit "secondary schools" /cited in English/ in New Zealand and Australia.

871 /278/ The Tongan educational system is under the supervision of the
645 Department of Education of the Tongan government. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who himself studied in Sydney, is the Minister of Education, and under him is a white "Director of Education" /cited in English/.

/278 cont./
000 English/.

871 The children and with them the parents are relatively open-minded
177 about this European educational system. Today--in contrast to conditions a few decades ago--school attendance is apparently quite regular.

872 In 1952, for example, about 150 boys and girls went to the government elementary school of the village of 'Uiha ('Uiha"), a typical settlement of the small islands, and all but four of them attended classes rather regularly. The teacher had the parents of children who played truant force them to attend school. The four pupils mentioned, however, were generally regarded as "hopeless cases" since, immediately after they were brought to school by their parents, they ran away again and could not bring themselves to spend the morning sitting in school. About half the children really like to attend because of their interest in the teaching and their pleasure in the group games; the rest of the boys and girls attended school because it was compulsory.

873 The number of those who have attended college is relatively large considering the slight opportunity they have to apply this education of several years' duration. Investigations conducted by the author
[162] in 1952 in the village of 'Uiha/'Uiha showed that of the 358 adults living there, 57 (chiefly men) had attended college, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u there were 23 (chiefly men) who attended among the 135 adults of the settlement.

153 The Tongan boys and girls seem generally intelligent and receptive
157 in the classroom. A leading white educator who was questioned empha-
871 sized that there was "apparently nothing wrong with their intelligence," /cited in English/ but that their temperament and their entire ambience was different, as though their motto were: "Don't worry, go to sleep!" Despite a great deal of honest effort Tongan boys and girls are

T F 795 171

/310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

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In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

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In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

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T [873] [463] F [571]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) -1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Considering the urban characteristics set forth by the South Pacific Commission as being applicable to the Pacific islands, it becomes apparent that the cities of Pangai, Neiafu, and Nuku'alofa can be defined as being urban centers. In the case of Mu'a, though larger than Pangai in terms of population, the lack of such urban characteristics as government, commerce, and economics eliminates it from urban classification, under the South Pacific Commission's definition.

Other population groupings of significance include church training facilities and schools. The most important of these are Salote College and Toloa Methodist Training College, sponsored by the Wesleyan Methodist organization, and Liahona High School, sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Each of these include several hundred students and staff, many of whom live in housing provided by the respective schools.

Other groupings to be considered within this classification are the training camp for the Tongan defense force and the police training facility, both on Tongatupa. The population of these two facilities, though largely transient, must be recognized.

The historical growth of Tongan population can only be estimated through calculation of approximate numbers supported by approximate tillable acreage. Therefore, figures representing the population prior to the first census (1921) reflect educated guesses supported at times by missionary estimates and head counts (Walsh 1970, p. 31). In addition, none of the censuses prior to 1956 can be considered to be entirely reliable. McArthur stated that

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166 871 During interviews with individuals who had migrated to Tongatapu, the most frequently offered explanation for this migration was the desire for the best education for the children, and a 873 subsequent qualification for careers in government service. Until 368 recently, Tonga's secondary schools were all located on Tongatapu. Even though secondary schools have now been built on the other islands, most informants believed that the Tongatapu schools are 871 superior. All such individuals expressed a willingness to temporarily lower their standard of living, undergo long periods of family separation or relocate the entire family, in order to achieve a long range goal of better education.

166 464 [871] A smaller number of informants migrated to Tongatapu, due to a desire for cash employment in or near the capital. However, in many cases both motives, education and employment, were influential.

166 The centripetal force of urbanization, as described by Fiefia in the 1966 census report, is noted particularly with regard to younger age groups. "The drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai, especially, and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (Fiefia 1968, p. 11).

Most of the internal migration is from rural to urban areas, and Nuku'alofa is by no means the only urban area affected. The 162 166 161 1956 census listed six settlements, including the capital, with populations in excess of 1,000. With the 1966 report this statistic had risen to 13. (Table 6 lists these settlements with the respective intercensal increases.) These 13 evidenced a combined